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WHOLE No. 756

THE CENA TRIMALCHIONIS OF PETRONIUS ILLUSTRATED BY A STORY IN THE SATURDAY EVENING POST¹

In the Saturday Evening Post for July 7, 1934 (Volume 207, Number 1, pages 8-9, 40, 45, 47, 49), Mrs. Sophie Kerr, well known writer of novels and short stories, had an amusing tale entitled *The Proton and Electron Affair*. The tale purports to present comments on happenings, during the current Depression, in a place called Newton City (Mrs. Kerr discreetly refrains from giving this city any location). The story is told by a woman, who is left wholly nameless. She refers frequently to her husband as Wilbur, but gives him no surname.

The story is concerned with the attempt of a newcomer, Mrs. Georgia Boverdine, to become the social arbiter of Newton City, a place long occupied by Mrs. Amy Romanay Jones. The narrator is an ardent supporter of Mrs. Jones. Parts of the story form an admirable illustration of sections of the famous *Cena Trimalchionis*, by Petronius. I quote some paragraphs from the tale. The first paragraphs quoted are essential to an understanding of the sequel, and prepare the reader to see why I make a connection between this tale and Petronius's narrative.

The narrator explains, in a very leisurely style, how the Depression had affected Mrs. Jones. In more prosperous days Mrs. Jones had kept an elaborate establishment, in which she had given parties "with all sorts of unusual notions; so that everyone stays far too long and late, just because they are having such a good time. She likes to have house guests, too, . . . and her guest rooms are models of what guest rooms should be . . ."

I do not want to give the impression that Amy's hospitality was ever vulgarly ostentatious or arranged just for show, for it wasn't. But it was unusual. She was the first in Newton City to write the names on her place cards backward, and the dinner she gave when the cards contained just one word, supposedly descriptive of the guest's leading trait—well, that dinner has become history because four of the women rushed for the card marked "Charm," all of the men fought shy of the card marked "Perspicacity," because they did not know what it meant . . .

Mrs. Kerr is having a sly fling even at Mrs. Jones, whom, on the whole, she represents as greatly superior in all matters of taste to Mrs. Boverdine. Mrs. Kerr's

short stories are often characterized by sly irony and satire, levelled at all sorts of persons, things, and measures (even political).

The narrator continues:

But don't get the idea that Amy's entertainments were all stunts. No, each and every one of them was based firmly on that sure pleasure of humanity—good food. Her cook was an artist, an extraordinary artist. Her menus were always interesting and original. I asked her once how she managed it, and she replied: "It is mostly by contrast. When I serve one odd exotic dish, I either follow or precede it with something plain and well known. A dish of soft and gooey texture is set off by something crunchy and crisp; a cold dish by a hot dish; a bland soothing dish by a sharp compelling piquancy. Something raw is always included among the cooked items. I try to keep away from everything too rich, and therefore my guests don't have to rush for bicarb and peppermint when they get home. And I never, never serve a very long meal, for people ought to have a little space and appetite left for dessert" . . .

Owing to Amy's prominence in civic affairs and her beautiful, well-staffed home, it had always been up to her to entertain any distinguished foreign or native notables who came to town . . . Not only was it a great bore and bother off everybody else but the whole town rested content, knowing that the notables, whether from Utah or Ukrainia, would take away a fine impression of us and the way we do things. But now, Amy said, it meant too much effort and strain, for notables are so odd in their habits and requirements that it takes a good many servants and a lot of adjusting and managing to keep them contented and happy. Fortunately, however, we didn't seem to be having many notables and distinguished guests. No doubt they, too, were feeling poor and staying at home. Even English novelists weren't about.

Suddenly we all became aware of Georgia Boverdine and her activities. Yes, suddenly and violently, there she was in our midst. She couldn't be ignored, because henna hair, orange pajamas, a loud assured voice, the purchase of the old Hartnell house and immediate addition to it of a small theater, a large swimming pool, three tennis courts, seven bedrooms, two salons, a game room and a bar—such an ensemble of appearance and goings-on cannot long remain unseen and unsung, as says the poet. Newton City was glad that there was so much work being given out, and as for Mrs. Boverdine's appearance and sound, those were welcome topics of conversation after so much gloom. Everyone asked everyone else who on earth the woman was and where she came from, but no one knew the answer.

However, the next thing I knew about Mrs. Boverdine was that Amy had called on her and that she was going to take over Amy's cook. Now, I have said that this cook was extraordinary as a cook, but he was extraordinary as a person as well. He was a mixture of races, Finn and Russian predominating; not the dark gloomy introvert type, but a bounding impulsive generous extrovert. He loved his work and no trouble was too much for him, and though he was a large,

¹I am indebted to Dr. Mary Johnston, of MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois, for the chance to read this tale. The title of the tale is not in itself 'intriguing', and it gives no hint of the contents of the tale. By the time I had a letter from Dr. Johnston, suggesting that I read the article, with Petronius in mind, my copy of *The Saturday Evening Post* of July 7 had disappeared. My bookseller had great difficulty in getting a copy of this issue for me; none was to be had from the publishers.

powerful man, he did the most finicking decoration, until his cakes looked as though he had tatted them, and the simplest salad was as fancy as the hat of a Florodora girl. His first name was Aanti, and his other names were even stranger, much longer and quite unpronounceable.

"I'm very glad to get Aanti placed," Amy told me. "He simply could not get it through his head that I must economize, and he has a regular tantrum about cutting down on eggs and butter and cream, and he will not simplify the meals without roars of horror. He's a marvelous chef when he's properly directed and controlled, and outside of that he's just a baby mentally, and I've been at my wit's end to know how to place him where he would have lavish material to work with; for that's the only way he is happy."

"I can't imagine Aanti'll be happy with Mrs. Boverdine," I said; "I really can't."

Amy positively giggled. "My dear, he'll have the time of his life. She'll let him run riot as I never did. She won't even get a piece of toast without her monogram on it."

It <the rivalry between the supporters of Mrs. Jones and those who upheld Mrs. Boverdine> was exciting. And it was also nip and tuck, or a demned close thing, as the Duke of Wellington remarked about Waterloo. I mean, you could hardly tell who was coming out the final victor, and the whole summer passed along in a frenzied activity quite alien to Newton City's usual summers. And then, as it was closing, along came the possibilities of the visit by Jacques Escargot. Yes, the great Escargot himself, epicure, *gourmet* and authority on all matters pertaining to the *cuisine*, proposed to come to Newton City and look us over, and really for an amazing reason, when you come right down to it.

It seems that M. Escargot had met an American newspaperman in Paris who must have been quite a wag, for he had told the distinguished Frenchman that Newton City was so located in our country that it had become a focal point for true American tastes and traditions—not only in food and cooking but in practically every other way. He said that if M. Escargot ever came to America and wanted to eat American food at its highest peak of excellence, Newton City was the place to head for. So M. Escargot, having come to America and desiring to eat the best American food, was determined on his way toward us. Though he had been told that he was mistaken, and that the newspaperman was spoofing him, he had not heeded. Indeed, he regarded with dark suspicion these attempts to turn him aside, and asked angrily: Could it be that he was not wanted in Newton City, or that Newton City feared to have him sample its *cuisine*? He went on at such a rate that we simply had to have him or place a blot on the fair 'scutcheon of our city's hospitality. I mean, it would have been like admitting that there wasn't anything fit to eat on any Newton City table.

Once it was decided that we were to receive M. Escargot, you can imagine the wild row which was immediately precipitated. Georgia Boverdine drove in her big car down to the meeting of the chamber of commerce, literally forced her way in and demanded that she, and she alone, be delegated to entertain the great man. "As you all know, I have by far the best cook in the city," she said; "so I am the only person who can offer him a meal worthy of him."

It was arranged, presently, largely through the influence of Mrs. Jones herself, that Mrs. Boverdine was to give a very large dinner for M. Escargot on the evening of his arrival. Mrs. Jones's words on this subject to Mrs. Boverdine are worth quoting in full:

... But since M. Escargot is to be here for two days, I suggest that you give a very large dinner for him on the evening of his arrival, and I will give a very small dinner for him on the evening of his departure. I under-

stand he eats but one meal a day, taking coffee and rolls about eleven in the morning; and as he wishes to stay at the hotel, the management there can supply that much quite satisfactorily. Your party will obviously be the official one, and if M. Escargot should leave earlier than he intends, it will not matter if my party is not given at all . . .

The account of Mrs. Boverdine's dinner I give now in full. Those who know the Cena Trimalchionis will recognize at once the parallels; those who do not know the Cena Trimalchionis should remove at once that defect in their education by reading and reading the Cena.

The Boverdine house was bedizened with garlands of flowers and wreaths and twined smilax and French and American flags and colored electric lights, like the last scene of a big musical comedy, and Georgia, all trussed up in gold cloth shot with rainbow colors, only needed a gold spear and a boop-a-doop entrance to complete the illusion. There were flocks and flocks of champagne cocktails, and then we went into the dining room. The table was covered with orchids and there were three fountains playing in prismatic basins at equal distances among the flowers, and she had got a gilt service from somewhere and quantities of red glassware—and with the waiters dressed, if you please, in blue-and-yellow livery, with powdered hair and knee breeches—I mean, it was incredible! People really forgot to look at M. Escargot—who was a large thick Frenchman with a pompadour and a square beard—they gaped so at their surroundings. We were played into the dining room by a loud saxophone orchestra rendering a lively tune which I later identified as Oh, You Nawsty Man, but I do not believe the guest of honor was aware of the title. I hope not.

Indeed, M. Escargot, whom, ordinarily, I should imagine to be selfpossessed and full of aplomb, seemed slightly dazed by his reception and surroundings. As he spoke very little English and Mrs. Boverdine no French and as his secretary-interpreter had been placed down at the end of the table, he couldn't say much, of course, but I observed that he bent on us a glance of wonder and surprise and, at times, somewhat wary, as though he believed himself to be the victim of an illusion.

With the help of Wilbur, I have been able to recall the details of the dinner itself, and I will now set them down without embellishment. After all, nothing could embellish this dinner.

The first course was red and black caviar, large bowls of each, and each bowl set in a huge swan carved out of ice, with icy waves dashing round it, and down in the icy waves small electric lights. A little cottage of toasted bread surrounded by a garden square of white and yolk of egg and chopped chives was served each guest, but we helped ourselves to the caviar—so as not to miss a close view of the swans, I suppose.

After the caviar came the richest green-turtle soup I ever tasted, accompanied by nosegays of pink and yellow rosebuds carved from radishes and raw carrots, with an edging of leaves made of green olives. Also hot puff paste filled with a mixture of Roquefort and cream cheese, and shaped to look like brown scallop shells.

For the fish course there was Lobster Albert, which could not, fortunately, be made to resemble anything but what it was; but wide-open lilies of scarlet tomatoes, with cucumber slices cut into foliage and centers of stiff green mayonnaise, and sandwiches of brown and white bread rolled and tied with pimiento ribbons, made up for the plainness of the lobster. Also there were *soufflé* potatoes served in airships of braided potato strips, all magnificently sautéed.

It was as this course was being taken away that I noticed M. Escargot. He was distinctly not pleased. . . . He was now looking quite annoyed and severe. There was even an element of disgust in his expression. Mrs.

Boverdine was talking to him, but of course he could not understand much of what she was saying, and he was obviously not trying to understand any of it. Right across the table from him was Amy—placed there so that she should lose no part of the Boverdine triumph, I am sure. But you know how, in any situation where feeling is running high, there is always an uneasy aura of it which strangers can divine, even when they do not know what it's all about. M. Escargot evidently got a sense of Amy's being involved, and he hitched up his shoulders and poked out his square beard and spoke to her in French, very politely and quickly. And Amy replied, also quickly. And then he dashed into a great rattling blast of French, and Amy smiled and made a little helpless gesture and replied briefly.

You can imagine how infuriated this made Georgia Boverdine, for she could not understand one word and she suspected the worst. Naturally, she did not want to ask Amy what M. Escargot had said. But the next course came on, and that interrupted the conversation. It might very well have interrupted any conversation, for this time Aanti had indeed let himself go. He had taken boned guinea hens and stuffed them with sausage, breadcrumbs and raisins, and shaped them into the likeness of little fat pigs, with slivers of toast for legs and ears and tails, and currants for eyes. Each piglet was apparently feeding from a round trough, which turned out to be a hominy croquette with jelly inside, and a large half peach, baked with curaçao and bristling with almond points, made a porcupine attendant. All among the porcupines and piglets were Christmas trees of artichoke bottoms, piled with green peas and decorated with the smallest of red pimiento stars. I may say that even M. Escargot looked daunted by this amazing fantasy, for there was a ghoulis, almost sinister cast to the expression of the pigs and the porcupines that made you feel as though you were asked to eat something uncanny. It wasn't like food—it really wasn't—and what with all the orchids and fountains and Georgia Boverdine's dress, everyone looked unhappy and constrained, and though champagne was being poured like water, it didn't make things livelier. M. Escargot hardly touched his pig, and he kept glancing questioningly across at Amy, but she avoided his eyes.

I know that everyone except Mrs. Boverdine—who took our silence for awe and admiration—was glad when the pigs and porcupines were removed and the next course came on, which turned out to be a comparatively simple asparagus *croustade*—the *croustades* in the form of miniature Bastilles, with a French flag floating from each. Cannon, which turned out to be a version of Russian *pirojek*—those little rolls baked with rich spiced meat inside—guarded the Bastilles. M. Escargot removed the French flag and gave Mrs. Boverdine a dirty look for thus desecrating it, but nothing else special happened and the people began to talk again in a guarded uncomfortable way. Of course, by this time no one was eating much; it had been far too heavy and cloying.

The orchestra kept on playing loud jazz and the costumed waiters cleared away everything except the glasses and the floral decorations, and we waited for the dessert. And in it came—a high pyramid of ice cream, each layer a different color, all latticed with an overlay of flowers and leaves made of *glacé* fruits and Angelica, and right on the very top a figure made of spun sugar which though undoubtedly meant to represent Georgia Boverdine as the Goddess of Liberty, was—I mean, it simply didn't look like anything human. And as the monstrosity was carried solemnly along, somebody at the end of the table—it might have been Wilbur—gave a low snicker, and before you could wink, everyone was laughing like mad. Everyone, that is, except Georgia Boverdine. And when the waiters began to serve individual fruit cakes, each one marked in icing with the monogram of the guest for whom it was in-

tended—well, even the waiters began to giggle and got the monograms all mixed up every which way. And above all the other laughter could be heard the boom, boom of M. Escargot's hilarious roar.

It was practically the end of the dinner. No one could calm down sufficiently to hack off a morsel of the pyramid, and though there was coffee and then buckets of liqueurs and bushels of candy and cigarettes and cigars, people just didn't bother. M. Escargot himself waved everything away but a tiny cup of coffee, and then he deliberately rose and bowed over Mrs. Boverdine's hand and signaled to his secretary and departed. As he went out he stopped beside Amy Romanay Jones and once more addressed her in a perfect torrent of French. Amy replied just as quickly but much more briefly. At which M. Escargot wagged his beard and said, "Bon, bon! Au revoir, chère madame," and was gone.

Mrs. Jones's little dinner, which she cooked herself, was, of course, in sharpest contrast to Mrs. Boverdine's feast. Mrs. Jones's daughters did the serving; there were no waiters. The dinner consisted of cantaloupes, boiled corned beef, "and neatly arranged around it boiled cabbage, onions, potatoes, turnips and carrots . . .", hot feathery biscuits, sweet corn on the cob, and huckleberry pie, and "snappy yellow cheese . . ." M. Escargot ate and ate, and, when the dinner was over, made an oration in which he stated that he realized now that

the dinner of the night before had been . . . a magnificent joke; though if he had not been warned of the American sense of humor, he might not have appreciated it. But tonight had shown him the true American *cuisine*, the true American family life with the mamma, so beautiful, so dignified, sitting at the head of the table, and filling her plates, while the daughters, so *mignonnes*, so *exquises*, waited on table as an honor to the guest. And what diabolically delicious food! The beautiful Madame Jones must give him full description of each item, so that he could include it in his forthcoming book on America. How wise—how truly wise had been that newspaperman he met in Paris who told him to come to Newton City.

CHARLES KNAPP

A NOTE ON THE LEGISLATION CONCERNING ROMAN CREMATORIES

The prevailing custom of cremation in the last century of the 'Republic' and in the early centuries of the Empire gave rise to special legislation concerning crematories (*ustrina*, *ustrinum*).¹ The principal factor

¹Both *ustrina* and *ustrinum* occur in inscriptions, though *ustrina* is preferred in official documents. The Greek equivalent is *καβούρπα* (compare Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum 2942 [3290 seems to be a repetition of this], 4059, 4105). It seems to have been not unusual for persons who could afford the expense to construct private *ustrinae* in the neighborhood of the tombs in which their ashes were to be deposited (see Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.29519, 3.2912, 10.6368, 6.414, 8.284, 14.604, 1304 [?]). More usual was the construction of a community *ustrina* in connection with a *columbarium*, especially by *collegia funeraticia* (see Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.4414-4417 [compare note 11, below], 10237, 10346, 11576, 23808, 5.3554, 8308, 10.557, 6607). Compare also Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.26215 = 19267, 27593, 13.5708.1.21, 2.1, 14.850. For the archeological evidence for the remains of ordinary *ustrinae* see L. Canina, *La Prima Parte della Via Appia*, 1.127-128, 2. Plate XXVI (Rome, Bertinelli, 1853); G. Ripostelli and O. Marucchi, *La Via Appia*, 242 (Rome, Desclée, 1908); G. Pinza, *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 10 (1907), 223-225; G. Fiorelli, *Notizie degli Scavi* 1885, 20-21; Thomas Ashby, *The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna*, Papers of the British School at Rome 1 (1902), 133-134, 174, 223, 240; E. Galli, *Notizie degli Scavi* 1932, 335, 359-361. A special type of crematory is represented by the imperial *ustrinae* in the Campus Martius. Three of these have been identified, that of Augustus, that of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, and that of M. Aurelius. See H. Jordan and Ch. Hülsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, Volume 1,

which determined the nature of this legislation was the danger of fire caused by the proximity of crematories to the city². As early as the period in which the Twelve Tables were formulated a regulation existed which prohibited the cremation of bodies inside the city³. At a later time it became necessary to prohibit by legislation the *ustrinae* which sprang up outside the city walls, especially along the roads leading out of the city gates. On the Esquiline Hill, outside the 'Servian' Wall, there existed from early times an extensive necropolis. At some time during the first half of the last century of the 'Republic' a *senatus consultum* (inscribed on a *cippus* found, in fragmentary form, *in situ*, near the Church of S. Vito, i.e. near the Porta Esquilina) was passed, which prohibited the building of *ustrinae* in a part of that region⁴. There is much to say in favor of Mommsen's view⁵ that the regulation concerned only a sacred area in the region of the Pagus Montanus. Among the many sacred areas on the Esquiline was, probably, the Lucus Libitinae, dedicated to Venus Libitina, the goddess of burial⁶. Here it was that the undertakers (*Libitinarii*)⁷ had their headquarters, and it is a reasonable conjecture that it was this sacred spot which it was the purpose of the *senatus consultum* to protect. The obscure provisions in the *senatus consultum* against *ustrinae*, temporary pyres (*foci ustrinae caussa*), and the disposal of earth (... *nive ... terram ... coniecisse ... velit ...*) in this area take on new meaning if we interpret them as aimed against abuses likely to be committed where undertakers carried on their business.

In the time of Sulla further regulations were passed against the erection of *ustrinae* in the region of the Esquiline outside the 'Servian' Wall. Two terminal *cippi*, both found *in situ*, one on Via Magenta (about 600 Roman feet from the Porta Viminalis), the other on the corner of Via Principe Amedeo and Via Alfredo

Cappellini (about 625 Roman feet from the Porta Esquilina), record an edict of L. Sentius, *praetor urbanus*, prohibiting the construction of *ustrinae* inside the area bounded by the *cippi* and the city wall⁸. Shortly after the death of Julius Caesar a more general ordinance, as we are informed by Dio Cassius, was enacted (in 38 B. C.), which forbade the cremation of bodies within fifteen stades (= two Roman miles) of the city⁹. That this prohibition had been preceded by other regulations of a general nature, involving a uniform area about all of Rome, is a reasonably certain deduction from the provision in the Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae (44 B.C.) against the building of new *ustrinae* within 500 paces (= one-half Roman mile) of the town¹⁰. If in 44 B. C. it was thought expedient to forbid the erection of *ustrinae* within a half mile of the town Urso in Spain, it is more than likely that before that time regulations of a similar nature had been enacted for Rome.

A number of inscriptions shows that in the *columbaria* region between the Via Appia and the Via Latina there were, during the Empire, community *ustrinae* attached to the burial places of *collegia funeraticia*¹¹. If Dio's statement that in 38 B.C. cremation was forbidden within two miles of the city is correct, how are we to explain the existence at a later date of crematories about a mile from the Porta Capena? Unfortunately, we lack positive information on this point, but we may conclude that sometime after 38 B. C. the area about the city in which cremation was forbidden was decreased, at the most to about one mile.

FELLOW,
AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

MEYER REINHOLD

THE IMPERIAL COMMENTARII AQUARUM

In his book on the aqueducts of Rome Frontinus frequently refers to *Commentarii*, or *Commentarii Principum*, official records in the government archives concerning the imperial administration of the water supply of Rome¹. It is worthy of note that Frontinus, in giving the capacities, as he found them set down in the imperial records, of the nine aqueducts built up to his

²Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 12.838-839 = 6.31614-31615 L. Sentius C. P. pr. de sen. sent. loca terminanda coer. B. P. Nei quis intra terminos propius urbem ustrinam fecisse velit nive stercus cadaver iniecisse velit. For Sentius see Münzer, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie, Zweite Reihe, 2.1511, Sentius, No. 6. Compare Acron on Horace, Sermones 1.8.11... apud Esquilias in publicis ustrinis...; Porphyrio on Horace, Sermones 1.8.11 <Commune sepulchrum> urbanissime dicitur haec regio, namque publicas ustrinas habebat, 1.8.14 Scilicet, quia promotae longius ustrinae, Salubres factae sunt Esquiliae.

³Dio Cassius 48.43.3... προσαπηγορεύθη... μήτε τὰς καύσεις τῶν νεκρῶν ἐντὸς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίων γίνεσθαι.

⁴Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 12.594 = 2.5439.2.2.13-16 Ne quis ustrinam novam, ubi homo mortuus combustus non erit, propius <read propius> oppidum passus D facito. Compare Mommsen, Ephemeris Epigraphica 3 (1877), page 111.

⁵Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.4415 [Vi]tal[is] [sibi] et... Prep[ar]at[us] [et] liber[is] libertab[is] [suis] post[er]is[que] eor[um]; et area ustrinae inter adfines(?) area(?) symphoniae. et coronarij, me(dia) est et popul(um); in f. p. XIII, in a. p. XIX; 6.4414 Sociorum coronario(rum), in f. p. XIII, in agr. p. XII...; 6.4417 Ust. sacra(rum), in fr. p. XII, in agr. p. XII; 6.4410 Huic monumento ustrinum aplicari <sic> non licet.

⁶De Aquis 1.31, 34, 2.64-74, 109. Compare Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.8487 Moschus Aug. Lib. a commentariis aquarum. <Frontinus's work De Aquis can be consulted conveniently in a volume entitled Frontinus The Stratagems and the Aqueducts of Rome, English Translation by Charles E. Bennett... (The Loeb Classical Library, 1925). For a review, by Charles Knapp, of this book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19, 175-176. C. K.>

Part 3, 604-605, 620 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1907); Samuel Ball Platner, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome, Completed and Revised by Thomas Ashby, 545 (London, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1929); G. Mancini, Studi Romani 1 (1913), 3-13; Ch. Hülsen, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung 4 (1889), 48-64. For the subject of *ustrinae* in general see Joachim Marquardt, Das Privatleben der Römer, Zweite Auflage, Besorgt von A. Mau, 369, 381 (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1886); Hugo Blümner, Die Römischen Privataltertümer, 499 (Munich, Beck, 1911); R. Cagnat and V. Chapot, Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine, 1.359-361 (Paris, Picard, 1916); E. Cuq, Article Funus, Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, 2.1395; Ch. Lécrivain, Article Ustrina, *ibidem*, 5.605. I am indebted to Professor A. W. Van Buren for some bibliographical suggestions.

⁷See note 3, below.

⁸Cicero, De Legibus 2.58 Hominem mortuum... in urbe ne sepelito neve urito. With regard to the latter prohibition Cicero adds, credo vel propter ignis periculum. A general prohibition under the Empire against burial or cremation within the walls of a city is recorded in Paulus, Sententiae 1.21.3 Intra muros civitatis corpus sepulturae dari non potest vel ustrina fieri.

⁹Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 12.591 = 6.3823 = 31577... eis-que curarent tulerenturque ar[bitratu] aedilium pleibeium [que]i-que comae essent; neve ustrinae in eis locis regionibusque nive foci ustrinaeve <read ustrinae> caussa fierent; nive stercus terra[m]ve intra ea loca fecisse coniecisse vel[ut] qui haec loca ab pago Montano [redempta] habebit; quod si stercus in eis locis fecerit terramve in ea loca iecerit, in... [uti] HS... [ma]gnus inectio pignoris, cap[ut]o siet]. The *supplementa* to this inscription enclosed in square brackets, are Mommsen's.

¹⁰See his commentary on the inscription quoted in note 4, above.

¹¹Platner-Ashby, 319 (see note 1, above); Latte, Article Libitina, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, 13.113-114; G. Stara-Tedde, I Boschi Sacri dell'Antica Roma, Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 33 (1905), 207-208; Hülsen, in Jordan-Hülsen, Volume 1, Part 3, 260 (see note 1, above), especially note 17. "... Dass der *lucus* in der Nähe der Porta Esquilina und des grossen Begräbnissfeldes gelegen habe, ist wahrscheinlich, jedoch nicht ausdrücklich bezeugt."

¹²Wickert, Article Libitinarii, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie..., 13.114.

time (he takes them up in chronological order), uses a set formula (e. g. Appiae in commentariis adscriptus est modus quinarium octingentorum quadraginta unius²) for the discharges of the first six aqueducts, the Appia, the Anio Vetus, the Marcia, the Tepula, the Iulia, and the Virgo (the last two were built by Agrippa, in 33 B.C. and in 19 B.C. respectively). But, when he comes to the Aqua Alsietina, built by Augustus, after the death of Agrippa³, the records fail him entirely⁴. For the capacities of the two aqueducts built by Claudius (the Claudia, and the Anio Novus), however, he is again able to cite from the imperial records, though he does not employ the set formula mentioned above, and, furthermore, his statements are less positive⁵.

The basis of the imperial *Commentarii Aquarum*, to which Frontinus, as *Curator Aquarum* in 97 A.D., had access, was laid under Augustus by his able minister, Marcus Agrippa, whose administration of the water supply marks an epoch in the history of the aqueducts of Rome. Under his direction a record was compiled, which dealt, in part, with the quantities of water allotted to public works and private persons; this became part of the imperial records after his death, in 12 B.C.⁶. The next important phase in the history of the water supply of Rome was the principate of Claudius. That Emperor, besides building the Aqua Claudia and the Aqua Anio Novus, completely reorganized this branch of the imperial administration⁷. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that the imperial *Commentarii Aquarum*, as they were known by Frontinus, were composed of two parts, the records of Agrippa concerning the first six aqueducts, and the supplements of Claudius. The whole was no doubt occasionally revised⁸.

FELLOW,
AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

MEYER REINHOLD

REVIEWS

Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Volume VIII, Part 1, Greek Inscriptions, 1896-1927. Edited by Benjamin Dean Meritt. Cambridge,

²De Aquis 2.65. So also 2.66 Anioni Veteri adscriptus est in commentariis modus quinarium mille quingentorum quadraginta unius. . . . 2.67 Marciae in commentariis adscriptus est modus quinarium duum milium centum sexaginta duarum. . . . 2.68 Tepulae in commentariis adscriptus est modus quinarium quadringentorum. . . . 2.69 Iuliae in commentariis adscriptus est modus quinarium sexcentarum quadraginta novem. . . . 2.70 Virgini in commentariis adscriptus est modus quinarium sexcentarum quingenta duarum. . . .

³It was probably constructed to supply with water the Naumachia of Augustus, built in 2 B. C. Compare Samuel Ball Platner, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome, Completed and Revised by Thomas Ashby, 20-21, 357 (London, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1929).

⁴De Aquis 2.71 Alsietinae conceptionis modus nec in commentariis adscriptus est nec in re praesenti certus inveniri potuit. . . .

⁵De Aquis 2.72. . . In commentariis habet <Claudia> non plus quinaris duobus milibus octingentis quinquaginta quinque. . . .

⁶2.73 Anio Novus in commentariis habere ponebatur quinaris tria milia ducentas sexaginta tres. . . .

⁷Frontinus, De Aquis 2.98 Primus M. Agrippa post aedilitatem, quam gessit consularis, operum suorum et munerum velut perpetuus curator fuit, qui, iam copia permittente, discipulis quid aquarum publicis operibus, quid lacibus, quid privatis daretur. . . . 2.99. . . Augustus quoque edicto complexus est quo iure uterentur qui ex commentariis Agrippae aquas haberent. . . . Compare Meyer Reinhold, Marcus Agrippa, A Biography, 141 (this is a Columbia University dissertation, published by The W. F. Humphrey Press [Geneva, New York, 1933]).

⁸Compare Frontinus, De Aquis 2.105, 116.

⁹Compare R. Lanciani, Topografia di Roma Antica: I Commentarii di Frontino intorno le Acque e gli Aqueedotti, 542 (Rome, Salviucci, 1880).

Massachusetts: Harvard University Press (1931). Pp. 180. 331 Illustrations.

The 331 Greek inscriptions which were recovered, by excavation and private discovery, from the site of ancient Corinth during the period 1896-1927 form a collection that is not without local interest, but reflects very feebly the former resplendence of the old city. The number is amazingly small as compared with the thousands that were recovered in only four campaigns of excavation in the Agora at Athens. The state of preservation too, of the Corinthian inscriptions leaves much to be desired. Fragmentary inscriptions are found everywhere in the Greek world, but the inscribed stones that Corinth has yielded are, with very few exceptions, in a particularly melancholy state of mutilation. While it is a reasonable guess that the classical and Hellenistic monuments of Corinth owe their present appearance and condition to the tender mercies of Mummius, the destroyer, it must be acknowledged that the stones of Roman and Byzantine date have suffered fully as badly as those of the earlier periods.

Chronologically, the inscriptions of Corinth run from a sixth-century fragment—written *boustrophedon*, and in the Corinthian alphabet—to examples that are to be dated well within the Middle Ages. Only half a dozen are earlier than the time of Alexander the Great.

There are ten decrees and laws (Numbers 1-10), of which only five yield information of any importance, and twelve catalogues and boundary-stones (Numbers 11-22). Dedications number 103 (Numbers 23-125). The most interesting is undoubtedly one that records a work of Lysippos the sculptor, and is probably contemporary with him (Number 35). Another sculptor must be indicated in Number 71. This is restored as a hybrid inscription—Latin and Greek. The Greek line runs as follows: < . . . > *Ἀθηναῖος ἐπὶ τοῖς*. The word 'Athenaios' is thought by Professor Meritt to be a cognomen, but I am inclined to think that we have here another example of the works of Apollonius, the son of Nestor, an artist of the first century B.C., whose known sculptures are the Torso Belvedere of the Vatican and the Bronze Boxer of the Terme Museum. He was an Athenian, and signed himself *Ἀπολλώνιος Νέστωρος Ἀθηναῖος ἐπὶ τοῖς*. The form of the letters on the Torso Belvedere agrees closely with that of the letters on the Corinthian inscription.

Only nine sepulchral inscriptions (Numbers 126-134), Greek and Roman, have been found. Are we to infer from this dearth of epitaphs that the Corinthians were remiss in their tendance of the dead?

There are included in the volume 86 Byzantine inscriptions (Numbers 135-220). These would have appeared separately had there been more of them. They are in almost every instance of peasant authorship, and comprise little beyond tombstone and imprecatory documents. It is interesting to note how in Byzantine times the surreptitious curse-tablet of lead of the Roman era is superseded by the openly flaunted lapidary inscription, with the name of the Christian God substituted for that of the pagan deity. If we are to pass judgment on the strength of this phenomenon alone, it is a melancholy inference that the spiritual and moral

development of the Christian priesthood of medieval Corinth, who must have connived at this business of cursing, or have openly approved it, was inferior to that of the pagan priesthood of Rome which was contemporary even with the promulgating of the Laws of the Twelve Tables!

The volume concludes with notices of 111 mutilated fragments of inscriptions (Numbers 221-231) which lie within a wide range of dates, belong to various epigraphical classes, and usually furnish but a few words or a few letters of text.

There is a full Index (pages 169-180) of proper names, festivals, months, games, and *notabilia varia*.

The errors of detail are few and slight. On page 30, line 8 of Number 21, the last letter is given as *mu* in the copy and *nu* in the transcription. Apparently through an oversight, the transcription of Numbers 53, 54, 56, and 75 is omitted. Not all the inscriptions, it is true, are transcribed, but in those instances room has been left for the transcribed words, but the spaces are vacant.

The Publication Committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens was fortunate in securing the editorial services of one who ranks so high in the epigraphical world as Professor Meritt, now of The Johns Hopkins University. The details of the various fragments of the Corinthian collection are presented by him with infinite care and patience. The task must frequently have seemed a wearisome and thankless one—all the more thankless inasmuch as the cream of the collection had been published by Benjamin Powell, in *The American Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1903), 26-71, and by Kendall Kerfoot Smith, in the same journal 23 (1919), 331-393. Where the accounts of the inscriptions as furnished by these scholars are adequate—and they usually are—Professor Meritt takes them over with a minimum of change.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

A. D. FRASER

Corinth, Results of Excavations¹ Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Volume IX, Sculpture, 1896-1923. By Franklin P. Johnson. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press (1931). Pp. xiii, 161. 293 illustrations.

The basis of the work under review was a catalogue of the sculptures contained in the Museum at Old Corinth. This catalogue was prepared by Professor Johnson in 1922 and 1923. The original draft he has more recently revised and, in places, expanded. No object of sculpture found since 1923 is included, since the lately discovered pieces are to be dealt with in a separate volume, by Professor Edward Capps, Jr.

Chronologically, the sculptures cover a wide range—from a fragmentary female statuette (1²) that may be assigned to the Neolithic or Chalcolithic period down to works that belong to the sixth century A.D., or later (328-332). The classical period of Greek sculpture is

but poorly represented, except in Roman copies, and these are, in many instances, of a low grade of workmanship. The Corinthian citizen of post-Hadrianic times was apparently satisfied with very mediocre artistic achievements. The manifest dearth of classical originals provides mute testimony to support the historical accounts of the thorough nature of the sack of Corinth by the soldiers of Mummius in 146 B.C. The sculptures of Greek times are simply not there; else had their fragments at least been found in the very systematic excavations that have been conducted on the site of Corinth.

The best preserved and best executed sculptures, regarded as a group, are those found in the so-called Julian Basilica (described in *Art and Archaeology* 14 [1922], 207-209³). These are portraits. They include the now well-known Augustus (134) in the garb of one sacrificing, a Lucius Caesar (135), a Gaius Caesar (136), a Nero, son of Germanicus (137), two figures in armor (141, 143), and various fragments of portraits. The likenesses of individuals that have been found elsewhere on the site of Corinth (159-202) present, with one notable exception, few features of interest. A herm of that distinguished second-century man of affairs, Herodes Atticus (169), is identified through its inscription. As it happens, this is the first portrait of Herodes that has been identified beyond question. It thus furnishes a definite criterion in the light of which other supposed portraits of the man may be judged.

Toward the end of the book, we find a series of a dozen works (321-332) of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D.; some are, perhaps, later. They provide interesting examples from a period whose sculptural art is all too little known.

Many of the sculptures housed in the museum of Old Corinth and included in Professor Johnson's original catalogue were not found in the regular process of excavation. Of these, only a few are, "for one reason or another", considered in the present book. The latter is, indeed, something more and something less than a catalogue. The more interesting pieces of statuary Professor Johnson discusses at length—often at great length—, recording a wealth of artistic parallels and scholarly views. On the other hand, many sculptures are dismissed in a few lines of text. About a quarter of the total number of pieces are not illustrated. The reader does not lose much by this omission.

I have noticed but a single error—or what appears to be an error—of detail. The draped fragment numbered 115 is thus described (page 66): "Height, 0.63 m.; width, 0.63 m." The illustration of this work would seem to indicate a width twice as great as the height. Is this a case of dittography in copying from the original manuscript? I doubt also whether the draped figure numbered 324 is that of a male.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

A. D. FRASER

¹For an account of excavations at Corinth see the article entitled *Five Campaigns of Excavations at Corinth: A Summary of Results*, by Theodore Leslie Shear, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 24. 121-126, 131-135. C. K. >.

²The figures in round brackets, here and below, give the numbers of the pieces of sculpture discussed in the book.

³*Art and Archaeology*, Volume 14, Number 4 (October, 1922) is largely devoted (pages 171-260) to the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, its history and the excavations which it has conducted. The presentation is by Professor Harold North Fowler. On pages 193-225 Professor Fowler describes the excavations at Corinth; his account is largely, he says (in a prefatory note at the bottom of page 171), the account sent to him by Dr. Bert Hodge Hill, formerly Director of the School. Twenty-one splendid illustrations add interest and value to the account. C. K. >.

Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Volume IV, Part I, Decorated Architectural Terracottas. By Ida Thallon-Hill and Lida Shaw King. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press (1929). Pp. xii, 118. 48 Figures in Text, 5 Plates.

Greek and Roman tradition, with extraordinary generosity, attributed to the Corinthians the following inventions that involve the terracotta industry: the temple pediment, the antefix adorned with the human face in relief, and the acroterion. Although no direct archaeological evidence is available to corroborate these beliefs, the authors of the volume here under review, Decorated Architectural Terracottas <Found at Corinth>, are able to prove that Corinth may at least be credited with the invention of the so-called Megarian *sima* (without an accompanying illustration its details can hardly be made intelligible to those unfamiliar with it). The *sima* acquired its name, many years ago, from its occurrence on the Megarian Treasury at Olympia. But it has not been found at Megara, and the earliest examples of it unearthed at Corinth long antedate those discovered at Olympia.

We have many ancient references to 'Corinthian tiles'. That they enjoyed their individuality from their form rather than from their material is shown by Mrs. Hill (42), inasmuch as tiles that are specifically named Corinthian were manufactured in various localities, some of which were far distant from Corinth. But the precise nature of the 'Corinthian tile' remains a puzzle to the authors of this work.

The architectural terracottas of Corinth were found mainly in 'fills'. Manifestly, the Roman colonists planted on the site by Julius Caesar levelled off the mass of debris that had cumbered the ground since the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, in 146 B. C. The architectural finds made by the excavators thus lay with no sort of stratification, and their classification is consequently dependent on an accurate appreciation of their style and its relation to that of other dated monuments. Sixth-century and fifth-century temples appear to have been standing down to the time of the catastrophe; this is an inference from the fact that the ruins of their architectural members lay mingled with those of later date. The work of the colonists and their successors is decidedly inferior in design and in execution to the product of the Greek builder and decorator. There is good evidence for the thorough-going nature of Mummius's demolition of the city in the fact that no piece of terracotta earlier than 146 B. C. exists in a condition other than fragmentary.

In the introductory section of the work, Mrs. Hill writes an excellent summary of the various styles of decoration and of form that are encountered among the Corinthian terracottas, and she places particular emphasis on comparisons with architectural terracotta decorations found on other sites. Unfortunately, Ernst Buschor's great work on the revetments of the buildings of the Acropolis (Die Tondächer der Akropolis, I, Si-

men, Text und Tafeln, II, Stirnziegel, Text und Tafeln [Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1929, 1933]) had not appeared in time to be of service to Mrs. Hill in connection with the book under review.

The inventory (47-114), which is the joint work of Mrs. Hill and Miss King, provides the details of the antifixes (47-60), ridge-palmettes (61-65), *simas* (66-99), eaves-tiles (100-112), and a few miscellaneous fragments (113-114).

There is a good Index (117-120). The 48 Figures in the text adequately illustrate all the varieties of roof-members that are described in the inventory. Five beautiful colored Plates, drawn and decorated in water-color by Professor Prentice Duell, offer restorations of three types of antifixes and of two *simas*.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

A. D. FRASER

THE ORIGIN OF THE EXPRESSION *ὥς ἐτῶν* USED IN THE PAPYRI

In Professor A. E. R. Boak's book, Papyri From Tebtunis¹, the piece called 121 Recto presents a series of abstracts of contracts (see pages 20-80). In five² of these abstracts the name Eutychos appears as that of the signatory. Though all five belong to *one* year, 42 A. D., the ages assigned to Eutychos range from 30 to 52 years!

This discrepancy calls to mind two recent incidents in the police court of Tamīya, a village in the Fayoum, Egypt.

Some clothes had been stolen from the tent of one of the native workmen at the University of Michigan Camp, at Kom Aushim. A boy and his father were taken to the local police station to give testimony. The boy was required to give first his name, then his age. To the great amusement of his father the boy said that he was twenty-one years old. The father gave the boy's age as 15 years. Later, one of the native foremen was asked to give testimony. His age, he said, was 23. The chief of police, who was dictating data to a clerk, directed the clerk to write 30 as the age of the man.

I know of other persons who did not know their ages. Dr. D. L. Askren, of Fayoum, informed me that many of his patients had not the slightest notion how old they were, and he added that a young woman might readily state her age in the forties or in the fifties!

Undoubtedly similar conditions existed in ancient times, perhaps even to a greater extent. Then, as now, to get fairly accurate descriptions of individuals, officials, in drawing up documents, were compelled to estimate the ages of the persons concerned. Hence arose, I suggest, the expression *ὥς ἐτῶν*, 'about <so-and-so-many> years'. Different officials, or the same officials at different times, would naturally vary in their esti-

¹The work in question is entitled Papyri From Tebtunis, in Two Volumes. Part I (= "Michigan Papyri, Vol. II") (University of Michigan Press, 1933). The volume is Volume XXVII of University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series. C. K. >.

²Compare I, iv (page 24), *ὥς <ἐτῶν>* νβ; II, vii (page 39), *ὥς <ἐτῶν>* λ; IV, i (page 63), *ὥς <ἐτῶν>* λβ; IV, ix (page 76), *ὥς <ἐτῶν>* μα; IV, x (page 77), *ὥς <ἐτῶν>* λβ.

mates of ages. This was the case in the documents mentioned at the beginning of this paper³.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

VERNE B. SCHUMAN

A CORRECTION

In my article *The Difficulty of Latin Words, Forms, and Constructions of Varying Degrees of Frequency in High School Latin*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 28.57-62

<²In answer to a question which I put to him about his paper Mr. Schumann wrote that the *meaning* of the Greek expression which he discusses has been well known. He continued thus: "The words occur very frequently in papyrus documents when there is need of a description of a person. I think it is of interest to know that in ancient times the fact that individuals did not know their ages made it necessary for officials to guess at their ages, or to estimate them as best they could. The general impression is, I feel sure, that *individuals* themselves stated variously their own ages. To my mind the incident described in the text above indicates that discrepancies were caused by the varying estimates of *officials*."

To my way of thinking *both* factors must be reckoned with. Many persons in fact do not know their own ages. One who has had any contact with insurance matters, for example through a Fraternal Order, becomes aware of this phenomenon. I cite one case. To a certain Fraternal Order a woman, at the time she became a member, gave her age as so-and-so. Many years later, in a sworn statement she maintained that she had, at the time of admission, given her age as too high by several years. Later, she wished to reduce her age again! In this case deliberate fraud is, I am sure, not to be assumed, although, in fact, the reduction of age meant in each case reduction in the cost of insurance. The case is rather one of many I have known where the person did not really know, by any authoritative *written* records, his or her age. It stands to reason that the woman whose case I cite above was in far better position, thirty years or more ago, when she joined the Order, to get from others *oral* information about her age. This is true of many persons. Those who knew about their early lives are no longer living, or have moved beyond each reach, or even entirely beyond ken.

I feel sure, too, that in most of the instances in which persons claim for themselves very high age the claim is due to ignorance of the exact date of birth. When in 1914 my father-in-law died, in his ninety-second year, some Federal official at Washington wrote to us asking whether we could in fact substantiate the statement published in the death notices about his age. The official went on to say, *ultro*, that few claims of high age were founded on fact.

In 1898, when I was not quite thirty years of age, I had to make an address at the funeral services, held in a crowded Church, of a very dear friend, who had died under distressing circumstances. The strain was very great. I was reliably informed afterwards that certain persons who were present, speculating for some reason about my age, were firmly convinced that I was at least forty-five years old.

Officials, ancient and modern, have been and are hampered by many things in their efforts to guess the ages of those who appear before them to transact business. C. K.>

(December 3, 1934) the word *os*, *oris* is incorrectly placed second in Table 1 (58), and the statement is made that the word occurs 66 times in Cicero. In fact the word occurs only 3 times in Cicero, 66 times in Vergil (the facts are clearly given by Professor Lodge, *Vocabulary of High School Latin*). Regrettable as my error was and is, it does not materially invalidate my view that frequency of occurrence is no sure determinant of difficulty or ease in connection with Latin words, etc.

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MARK E. HUTCHINSON

A LONG-LIVED PEAR TREE¹

In Eclogue 9.50 Vergil writes, *Inserere, Daphni, piro;* *carpent tua poma nepotes*.

At "Variety Shade", Buckingham County, Virginia, the Bondurant Homestead, there still lives a pear tree which yields its bountiful fruit each year at the season of the wheat harvest; from this fact came the name the "harvest pear". Dr. Thomas L. Bondurant, who was born in 1834, has told me that in his early boyhood this tree was a small tree. We have here, then, a tree which has yielded its fruit not only to *nepotes*, but also to *pro-nepotes* and *abnepotes*.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI ALEXANDER L. BONDURANT

<¹Old as it is, Professor Bondurant's tree is a mere infant compared with a tree on the Island of Cos. In *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 26.108 (January 30, 1933) I published a notice of "Hippocrates, Vol. IV, *Heracleitus on the Universe*", translated by W. H. S. Jones, of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge (The Loeb Classical Library, 1931). On page lix of this book there is a description of a plane tree that "stands in the agora of the chief town of Cos, and . . . is connected in local tradition with Hippocrates, who is said by the Coans to have taught under its shade. . . ." In a footnote I quoted what Professor Jones said about this tree: "Alexander the Great must have stood beneath this tree, and Paul of Tarsus, to name but two of the host of historical persons who have passed that way. There is no reason to doubt that it is more than 2500 years old. Sir George Birdwood said as much, in a letter to *The Times* of August 16, 1906, where he gives a long list of ancient trees, many of them older than this". C. K.>